1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

433 241 178 Recôncavo remains today a backward and traditional agricultural society.

However, not all elements in Recôncavo life are static. In the field one was incessantly conscious both of the gradual course of change in this region and of the latent instability of its economic organization. Particularly in the last 75 years the agricultural economy of the Recôncavo has begun to shift--it is apparently in the throes of a drastic economic reorganization. It remains to be seen whether the traditional values will survive this economic revolution.

[128] The brief historical discussion to follow is not intended as a substitute for a full-scale historical reconstruction. Its purpose is to indicate the major patterns in the evolution of the Recôncavo.

175 The Evolution of Colonial Agricultural Institutions. By the end of the initial half century of settlement (1600) those ethnic groups, crops, animals, and agricultural institutions which were to

[567] become characteristic of the Recôncavo were already in evidence. Negro
[249] slaves were brought in on the heels of the first Portuguese settlers,[3]
[231] and sugar cane and cattle were also introduced at this time.[4] Tobacco
[244] and manioc, produced by the Indians indigenous to the northeast of
[249] Brazil, were rapidly integrated into the colonial agriculture of the
[177] Recôncavo.[5] The combined sugar mill and plantation (engenho), which
[249] was the basic economic institution of the Recôncavo until the end of
[491] the nineteenth century, already existed in rudimentary form before 1600.[6]

175 249 [244] From the beginning the new colony in the Recôncavo had three important crops--sugar cane, tobacco, and manioc. It was the cultivation of sugar which the Portuguese crown and the initial settlers had

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

178 crop, technology, and market--was the most important of these enter-
249 prises. The sugar industry flourished in its new world setting and
433 developed from the beginning an institutional character different from that of the old world, particularly in terms of land holding, labor, and the organization of production.

175 The regime of possession of the land was that of completely
423 allodial properties. Among the powers of the donatários of
249 the capitania was, as we have seen, that of disposing of
• 471 the land, which they distributed among the colonists. The grants were as a rule very large, the lots measuring many leagues. This is understandable: the lands were abundant, and the ambitions of these pioneers, recruited at such a cost, were evidently not contented with small properties; it was not the position of modest peasants to which they aspired in the new world but as great senhores [gentlemen] and latifundiários [landowners]. In addition to this and more important, there was a material factor which determined the type of property established. The culture of cane is practical, economically, only on a large scale. Merely conveniently to clear and prepare the lands (a costly task in this tropical and virgin setting so hostile to man) made necessary the united energy of many workers: it was not an enterprise for small and isolated proprietors. This done, the planting, the harvesting, and the transportation of the cane to the engenhos where it was made into sugar was only profitable when done in large volume. In these conditions the small producer could not exist.

It was above all these circumstances which determined the type of agricultural enterprise adopted in Brazil: the large property.[17]

175 The latifundia established by these colonists ideally were
241 self-sustaining units producing food and sometimes clothing for the
471 entire engenho community--free and slave. In fact, however, they often
433 seem to have neglected food production for the cultivation of the universal commercial product--sugar cane. From the beginning of colonization a succession of regulations and decrees were issued to compel the cultivation of manioc. Recurrent food shortages suggest that these measures were not effective in the face of the "monocultural mentality" of the senhores de engenho (sugar plantation owners). In

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

175 inaugurated a brief "golden age" in the evolution of the Recôncavo.
178 The mythology which this age engendered is an integral part of the
249 social and economic patterns in the present day Recôncavo. The
439 collapse of the sugar economy in the West Indies, particularly in Santo Domingo in 1792, and the expanding urban markets in Europe had given, for a moment, a great opportunity to the sugar industry of Northeast Brazil. Moreover, an important supplementary market had developed in the mining areas of Minas Gerais. In the subsequent economic expansion to supply these markets, the Recôncavo became an even more important center of sugar production in Brazil.

175 The landed proprietors of the Recôncavo apparently took this
249 resurgence as a vindication of their economic system.
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> They squandered money like the fidalgos [landed, slave-holding aristocrats] that they were. They installed sumptuous dwellings and lived the life of a nobility. Each sugar factory was a community where hundreds of slaves were dedicated to extraction of wealth from the soil. Each of these communities achieved a merited importance. A little Agricultural World gyrated around the Big House, and the Chapel, with its Holy Administrator, [was] dedicated to the dissemination of Catholicism in the community. In time many of these "Engenhos" developed into villas, and were succeeded by the cities of today.
>
> Each of these "Engenhos," as these agricultural communities were called, produced everything that they consumed except luxury, and this was imported from Portugal in exchange for sugar, high-grade tobacco, cotton, and rare cabinet woods. The "Senhor" of the Engenho was a veritable Feudal Baron, with the power of life and death over his black and mestizo slaves. He exercised the right of torture and flogging in proportion to the offenses committed. These sugar Engenhos, because of their collective and independent existence, produced a pride of origin, an attachment to the soil, that flowered into a hatred of the monarchial exploiters and became the dominating factor in the movement for independence.
>
> The fidalgos were essentially a product of the land, and spent the major part of their luxurious existence on their estates, attended by innumerable slaves. Their homes were built upon a vast scale and equipped with every luxury known to so simple a people. They also

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maintained splendid establishments, called Solars, in the Capital, to which they repaired in the winter season, June, July and August, for social diversion.[29]

[178]
The above citation is characteristic of the present-day views of many upper-class Baianos who identify themselves with this opulent era of the Recôncavo social evolution. The mythology engendered by the colonial sugar industry is outliving the engenho system. The wealth, pride, and ostentation of these fidalgos is undeniable. Within the limits of the provincial social environment, upper-class life was luxurious indeed. Compared with the upper-class society of the period in Europe or in the American South, however, social opportunities in the Recôncavo must have been rather limited. The casas
[342] grandes--if the surviving specimens can be taken as typical--generally
[489] were rather modest plantation houses. Transportation was difficult: few engenhos had carriage roads, and travel was by horseback or
[671] palanquin. Social intercourse often was restricted to an ingrown
[484] local circle. Apparently many of the social needs of the upper class could not be met within the rural Recôncavo so that trips were made frequently to Salvador, Rio de Janeiro, and sometimes Paris.[30]

Little has been recorded of the way of life of the slaves and
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poor freemen in the Recôncavo. It is significant that both apologists and critics of slavery usually have agreed that the masters were relatively clement in the treatment of their slave laborers. These slaves were very valuable possessions, particularly after the British began to suppress the slave trade. Because absentee ownership and delegation of administration to people outside the family was not usual, the masters and slaves were perforce in daily contact. Out of these daily contacts between landholder and laborer, a relatively personal relationship was developed. Within the household, relation-
[563] ships were even more familiar. In addition, some of the slaves were

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was Negro. Other estimates state that less than one-third of the people were slaves.[34]

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Table IV, below, illustrates the economic organization of the sugar industry in the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

TABLE IV

TOTAL CAPITAL INVESTMENT IN SUGAR ENGENHOS OF BAHIA IN 1833

	In U. S. Dollars*	
	Per Unit	Total Investment
603 mills	$2,500	$1,507,500
48,240 slaves	150	7,236,000
60,300 oxen	20	904,500
23,100 horses	20	464,500
78,800 ha. of agric. land	46 (approx)	3,618,000
38,528 ha. of forest	23 (approx)	884,000
47 steam engines	3,000	141,000
62 water canals	3,000	186,000
Improvements of each mill	2,000	1,206,000
Total in Bahia		$16,147,500

*Conversion at $500 per thousand of reis, after Calogeras, p. 47 in footnote.

Source: Amaral, II, 84 after the Marquez de Abrantes.

The usefulness of the above data is limited by the ambiguity of several of its categories. "Agricultural land" could be either land cultivated or cultivable. The most serious problem of interpretation is the meaning of "improvements," since the value of these improvements is relatively high. It is reasonably certain, from the nature of the engenho, that these improvements are not technological advances but only those simple measures necessary to maintain the traditional structure--warehouses, corrals, slave quarters, etc. If the value of the house of the senhor de engenho is included in this figure, this would help to account for the relatively high figure for improvements.

Nevertheless, the data do represent certain significant elements of the mid-nineteenth century sugar cane system of the Recôncavo. Almost

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

175 45 per cent of the total investment was in slaves--labor costs, always
249 high, had been driven up by the suppression of the slave trade. The
47 relatively small proportion of steam mills is at once a reflection of
454 the continuing primitive technology and a sign of the improvements
which were to come later in the century. The value of production for
[433] this year was $1,213,000--a return of 6.6 per cent on the capital
investment.[35]

175 While the attention of the Baiano was focused on the sugar
249 industry during this golden age, tobacco unobtrusively was becoming
178 a primary commercial product. The suppression of the slave trade
439 deprived tobacco of its African market, but at the same time the
European market was expanding. The spread of cigar smoking in Europe
created an increasing demand for Bahian leaf. Ultimately the European
demand for quality leaf and the development of a Brazilian market for
the poorer grades were to carry tobacco to the leading position among
Bahia's commercial products.

175 To a very large degree, the mold of the colonial Recôncavo was
433 fixed in the sixteenth century. Its socio-economic system was nurtured
249 by the prosperous semi-monopoly of sugar production. While the south
[565] of Brazil was a raw frontier zone of migratory agricultural adventurers,
the Paulistas (natives of São Paulo) of early colonial times,[36] a stable
and wealthy aristocratic society was developing in the Recôncavo. In
[477] the early eighteenth century, when West Indies competition undermined
the sugar monopoly, the Recôncavo might have responded creatively to
the challenge, but failed to do so. The simultaneous mineral boom in
Minas Gerais drained away the more experimental elements and left
behind those who were less adventurous. Yet before the denial of
markets had disrupted entirely the old economic and cultural pattern,
the late eighteenth-early nineteenth century resurgence reaffirmed

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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was introduced in Brazil after 1870.[41] As might be expected, the more progressive Central-South led in the modernization of the industry. The Northeast, and especially Bahia, lagged behind--further evidence of Bahia's resistance to change.

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The technological revolution had two historical stages: (1) engenhos centrais, and (2) usinas,[42] both of which still are clearly identifyable in Bahia (as is their predecessor, the engenho stage). In the engenho central stage the mills purchased cane from fornecedores (suppliers). These suppliers were old engenho properties which no longer operated a mill. The resistance of the fornecedores to a strict scheduling of delivery and price soon caused dissatisfaction among the mill owners. They began to buy out the fornecedores and go into direct production of cane.[43] The source of cane is the basic distinction between the engenho central system and the usina system. Once the central mill grew most of its own cane, it became an usina and entered the second phase of the technological revolution. The sugar industry in the present-day Recôncavo is characterized by both systems. In practice the systems employed by the various sugar mills tend to include features characteristic of both types, and there is no stereotype. The existing systems in Bahia are distinct from those of the Central-South, where the usinas have largely replaced the engenhos centrais.

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In the twentieth century, as in the nineteenth, the Recôncavo persisted in its monoculture and was reluctant to accept technological innovations in agriculture and industry. This conservatism was typical of most of the Northeast, but in Pernambuco the industry began simultaneously to intensify its monoculture and to modernise its industrial plant, and this state ultimately became the largest sugar producing state of Brazil.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

245 438 [471] Oranges, like coconuts, are usually grown on plantations. The capital investment in tree crops is usually too great for small cultivators. Moreover, as a highly perishable crop, oranges require more or less direct marketing, which is frequently beyond the capacity of the small grower. If oranges were marketed by trickling from the small grower through the hands of merchants, buyers, and the like, as is tobacco, they would be spoiled long before reaching the consumer. The small cultivator can market his handful of oranges only in the local market.

241 433 [262] [443] [489] Supplementary Crops. Although the official data show only a very limited distribution of minor supplementary crops, their cultivation is not confined to those municípios where exceptionally conscientious statistical agents have made detailed records. The common vegetables--green beans, onions, garlic, and tomatoes--are cultivated in small quantities in all parts of the Recôncavo and are a traditional part of Bahian dishes. Around the cities and towns there is some specialization in vegetable farming, but there are no major concentrations. The Salvador market is supplied with produce from a broad rural zone which includes most of the Recôncavo. The produce is brought to the city by donkey, truck, or by sailing boat.

[134] The most important of the supplementary commercial crops is pineapple, which is produced on the sandy soils of the Northern, and to a lesser extent, Southwestern Recôncavo. There is very scattered production of grapes, cotton, rice, and white potatoes, but there are no important centers of cultivation of these crops.

245 311 Minor Spontaneous Tree Crops. Mangoes are very common within the houseyards of Salvador and throughout the humid Coastal Plain. In

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 cultivation which is monocultural and highly standardized. As has been indicated, small scale sugar cane cultivation--in house gardens--is omnipresent in the Recôncavo. The area in such garden cane, however, can scarcely be as much as one per cent of the total cropland.

249 Within the Central Recôncavo sugar cane is grown principally to
• 471 supply a relatively small number of sugar usinas. The usinas either own and operate or rent and operate the cane plantations or have a stable relationship with those plantations from which they buy cane. Under these circumstances it is both necessary and relatively easy to standardize the methods of production and cultivation. The industrial aspects of sugar production will be discussed in the section on processing.

249 The general system of sugar cane cultivation involves a five-year sequence:

[407] [492] (1) The land is broken with a large ox-drawn, wooden plow. The same plow opens parallel furrows, two to three feet apart, into which are laid pieces of cane stalk, cut from specially grown seed cane. The seed cane is then covered with hoes and packed with bare feet. Planting usually takes place during the last of the wet season--August and early September--to a lesser extent during the cane harvest--mid-September to mid-March--and at the end of the harvest in the autumn, if possible. Usually, however, the ground is too wet for planting during the months of May to August.

[412] (2) The cane is weeded frequently with a knife or a hoe. After a year of growth it is cut and carted away to the railroad. The leaves and upper stalk are left on the field and after drying are burned, except for some small part which is used as fodder.

(3) When the roots sprout again, the field is weeded and kept clean as the second-year cane develops; and after a year, the cane is harvested again. Generally this re-growth is repeated three times, so that there are four harvests for each planting.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 423 some properties in excess of 100,000 hectares of land. Such overwhelmingly large properties signalize a tremendous concentration of power and, for the sertão, much wealth.

The large properties of the Recôncavo were less extensive than the vast fazendas of the sertão, but they probably represented an even greater assemblage of economic and social power. The sugar cane plantations [249] [471] and the associated usinas, with their traditional prestige, large capital investment, and centralized production, are the preponderant social institutions of the Recôncavo.

Land Tenure. Most of the formal categories of farm tenure which are characteristic of the agriculture of the United States are present also in the Recôncavo: ownership by private individuals and corporations; operation by owners, administrators, renters, and "squatters."[5] However, the contrasts in property size and the centralized control of agricultural credit and capital in the Recôncavo give these these general types of agricultural tenure and operation a distinctive character.

241 423 472 Proprietor Operation. Most of the agricultural properties of the Recôncavo were operated by the owner in 1940. Only in the Southern Recôncavo--Maragogipe and Salvador--were less than half of the properties owner-operated. In most of the region and the adjoining area three-fourths of the units were operated by the owner (Map 112). The area occupied by owner-operated units was in excess of half the enumerated area in all parts of the region except the Southern Recôncavo (Map 113). However, the area in owner-operated properties was higher in the tobacco-manioc area of the Southwestern Recôncavo--70 to 80 per cent--than in either the tobacco-manioc or the sugar cane region north of the Bay. A greater contrast is reflected in the map of the mean size of owner-operated properties (Map 114). In Conceição do Almeida--

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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 Southwestern Recôncavo--the 80 per cent of all units which were owner-
423 operated had a mean size of 16 hectares in 1940. In São Francisco--
472 Central Recôncavo--the 75 per cent of all units which were owner-operated had a mean size of 113 hectares. In general the mean size of owner-operated units in the tobacco-manioc region was from 15 to 30 hectares, while the mean size in the sugar cane region exceeded 100 hectares.

241 Operation by Administrator. Absentee ownership in the Recôncavo
423 probably had its origin in the colonial period, when it was the practice
471 of many of the senhores de engenho (sugar cane planters) to spend part
178 of the year in Salvador. As the urban interests of the owner increased, the management of some properties passed into the hands of overseers, frequently drawn from the mixed-blood retinue of the plantation owner. To a lesser extent the same practice seems to have developed in other parts of the Recôncavo, as the property owner became involved in business, in the professions, or in politics in the cidades or in Salvador. The development of corporate landholding as a concomitant of the usina system has made agricultural administrators even more numerous.

241 Properties operated by administrators were found in every muni-
423 cípio of the Recôncavo in 1940 (Map 115). In 13 municípios over
471 one-tenth of the properties were so operated. The number of administrator-operated properties was relatively large in São Félix--25 per cent--in the sugar cane region, but also in the município of Salvador and on the island of Itaparica opposite.[6] The area in administrator-operated properties was relatively great in the sugar cane zone--30 to 40 per cent--and near Salvador, in general conforming to the pattern of the relative number of properties under administrators (Map 116). However, administrator-operated properties in the Central Recôncavo were relatively large--200 hectares in São Francisco

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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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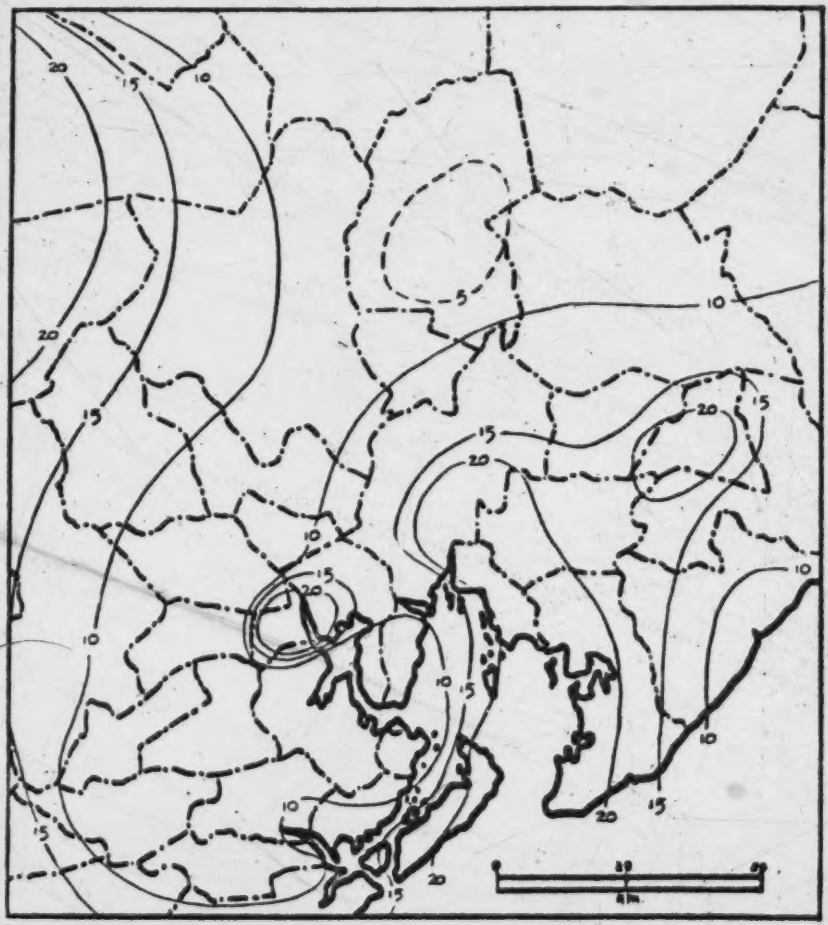

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of All Agricultural Properties Which Were Operated by Administrators--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia. Vol. II.

MAP 115

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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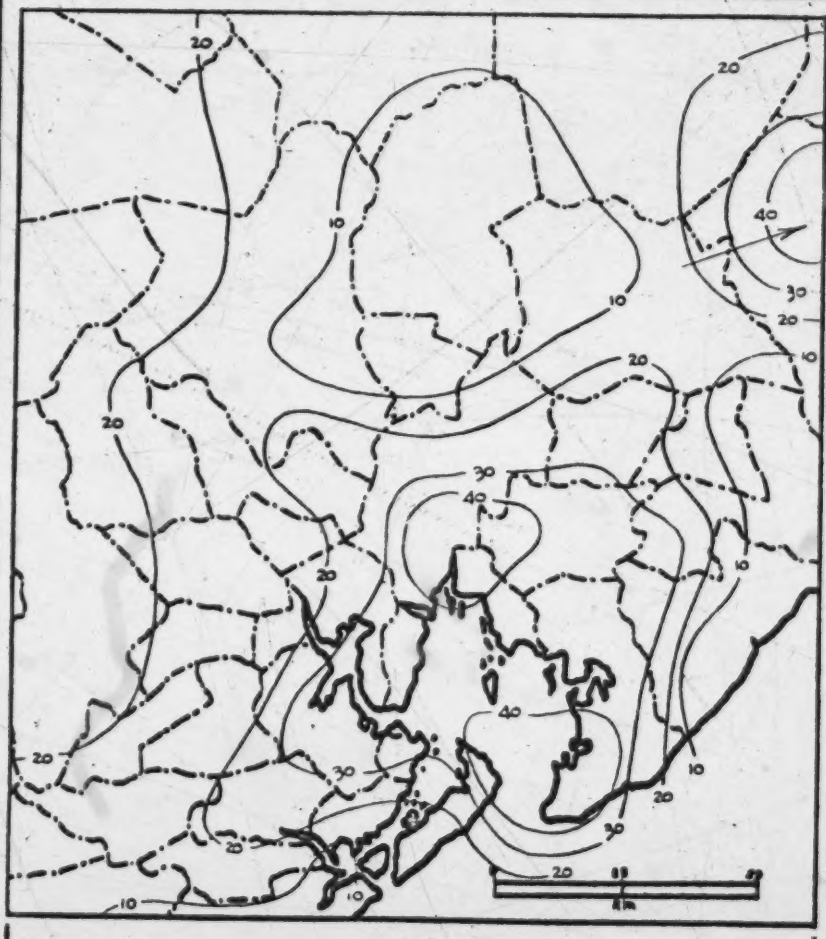

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Enumerated Area in

Administrator-Operated Properties—1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 116

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 and 161 hectares in Santo Amaro--while those of the Salvador area were
423 relatively modest--81 hectares in Salvador and 72 hectares in Itaparica.
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241 Rented Properties. There were few rented properties in the
427 Recôncavo as a whole in 1940 (Map 117), but in three areas over 10 per cent of the properties were rented: in the core of the tobacco-manioc area of the Southwestern Recôncavo; in Irará; and around Salvador. In Maragogipe, 52 per cent of the properties, occupying 15 per cent of the enumerated area, were rented (Map 118). In Santo Antônio, adjoining the Southwestern Recôncavo, over 30 per cent of the properties were rented, but along the western and norther border zones of the Recôncavo there were very few rented properties. Because of the small size of the units, rented properties in the Recôncavo generally occupied less than 10 per cent of the enumerated area.

[241] The rented properties of the tobacco-manioc crop region were
[249] usually small, from 10 to 30 hectares, but in the sugar cane area they averaged over 200 hectares (Map 119). If the official data are correct, the mean size of rented properties in Coração de Maria was over 267 hectares, but this seems very unlikely and has not been shown on the map.

241 Corporate Lands. In 1940, one-hundred ninety-eight of the 29,000
423 agricultural properties of the Recôncavo were owned by corporations or
471 companies. The total area of these properties was 33,000 hectares, almost 4 per cent of the total enumerated area of the region. Moreover, the land which composed these properties was some of the most productive in the Recôncavo. The number of corporate properties and the concentration of land under corporate ownership almost certainly has increased since 1940.

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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 423 471 [249] Although there were a few corporate lands in the vicinity of the city of Salvador in 1940, the main concentration was in the sugar cane area north of the Bay. Here the large corporately-owned usinas controlled as much as 30 per cent of the agricultural land. Most of these corporate properties were sugar cane plantations, but some were cattle ranches and other accessory properties. The corporations tend to dominate the sugar cane areas which are most productive and most favorably located for the transportation of cane and of the refined sugar and other products.

Conclusion. The strong network of interpersonal relationships, discussed in connection with crop cultivation and systems, is often more important than the purely formal aspects of land ownership and operation in the Recôncavo. The agricultural society of the Recôncavo is closely knit, so that the effective freedom of operation of the farm operator [565] is very limited. Although the large and rich landowners have, on some levels, a greater latitude than the small operators, they too are enmeshed in a system of inherited economic and social obligations and are subject to the restrictions imposed by the urban upper class.

241 441 442 472 The two primary local supervisory groups in the agricultural society are the merchant-buyers of the tobacco-manioc region and the general administrators and plantation owners of the sugar cane region. [656] However, both these groups are under the more or less immediate control of the sugar and tobacco companies in Salvador and of the official Instituto do Açúcar e do Álcool and the Instituto Baiano do Fumo.[7]

249 471 472 656 The operations of the sugar cane plantations are dictated by the mills, which specify the type and quantity of cane and the schedule of delivery. In turn, the amount of sugar produced by the mill is determined by the Instituto do Açúcar e do Álcool, while the policy of

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[656] operation is determined by the company officers, who generally live in Salvador. The company, in its turn, is subject to some control from Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo investors. This structured system of control probably is one of the reasons for the continuation of the monoculture in the sugar cane area. The usual explanation offered for the cane monoculture is the unique suitability of the soil and climate and the innate conservatism of the Baiano. However, one of the features of the present sugar economy is the lack of capital for other enterprises. The absentee owners, who are the only likely source of capital, are hesitant to advance money for new and untried enterprises. Moreover, alternative agricultural enterprises, if successful, would reduce the supply of cane and thus eventually raise the cost of usina operation.

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442 In the tobacco-manioc region the control exercised by Salvador is indirect, but compelling, because the small tobacco producer is almost completely at the mercy of the buyer, who receives orders from the tobacco exporter and manufacturer through the agent.

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[233] The differences in production specialization, size, and tenure among the agricultural properties of the Recôncavo both accentuate the basic dichotomy of the region and re-emphasize its unity. The small-scale mixed crop cultivation and livestock producing unit of the tobacco-manioc region and the large-scale crop cultivation unit of the sugar region are both esentially engaged in the production of commercial crops. Both are distinct from the primary agricultural unit of the sertão, the livestock ranch. Both are subject to the over-all economic control of the center—Salvador.

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[249] In most parts of Brazil, as in the Recôncavo, the agricultural properties are highly diverse in size, function, and ownership. Most areas of sugar cane cultivation have relatively large properties, primarily engaged in crop cultivation. In other areas, as in

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In other areas, as in the Recôncavo, more and more of the cane plantations are passing into the hands of the central mills and are being operated by administrators. Small properties, owner or renter operated, are also a widespread feature of the Brazilian agricultural scene. Frequently, as in the Recôncavo, large and small properties are intermixed in zones where several crops and livestock are raised jointly. Throughout Brazil the class of small property holders is tied to the merchant and large landholder class by a network of economic and social relationships much like those of the Recôncavo. Apparently the number and total area of small properties is growing, especially in Central and South Brazil. If this be so, the development of small farms in the Recôncavo, such as those producing tobacco and manioc, is part of the nationwide trend.

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257 the large landholders and agricultural capitalists of Brazil have a
433 strong historical bias toward monocultural systems.

249 As would be expected, the Central Recôncavo accounted for almost
433 90 per cent of the total value of sugar cane in the region. Sugar pro-
471 duction in this area is dominated by the big usinas, and most of the cane is produced on very large properties, as has been seen.

243 Although corn and beans primarily are subsistence crops, they
244 have, like manioc, some commercial importance (Map 125). The corn and bean
433 areas within the Recôncavo do not produce outstanding surpluses, although
438 these two crops are important commercial products in nearby Serrinha and Conceição do Coite. Most of the corn and beans of the Recôncavo are exchanged for farinha de mandioca, which provides the cultivator with a cheaper food.

244 The remaining crops of the region are of minor commercial impor-
245 tance, or are more valuable commercial crops of highly localized pro-
433 duction. Bananas, peanuts, and sweet potatoes are minor commercial
438 crops of diffuse production, since most of their cultivation is for subsistence purposes. Oranges, coconut, coffee, and pineapple are important but secondary commercial products whose production is concentrated in a few restricted areas (see, for example, Map 126 of coconut production).

249 The importance of the principal commercial crops--tobacco, sugar
344 cane, coffee, coconut, oranges, pineapple, a few minor crops, and
345 commercial manioc--varies widely from município to município (Map 127).
433 However, two areas--the Central Recôncavo and the Southwestern Recôncavo--
438 had highly commercial economies in which over 90 per cent of the total value of production was in commercial crops. In the tobacco-manioc area north of the Rio Paraguaçu, only one-half to three-quarters of
000 the total value of production was in commercial crops. Except in the

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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

442 443 233 campo de gado draws vaqueiros (cowboys) and ranchers from the sertão as well as agriculturalists and buyers from the Recôncavo, the nearby municipal market has a tributary area which is much larger than the município, indeed, much larger than the Recôncavo. The sertão and the Recôncavo exchange goods on a large scale in these markets. From the sertão come cattle and other animals, hides and skins, various extractive products, such as waxes, and the fumo em corda tobacco of the interior of northern Bahia. From the Recôncavo come food, especially bananas, coconuts, and sugar, and various manufactured articles which have been brought from South-Central Brazil via Salvador. Adjoining the campo de gado is an open lot where horses, mules, and all the accoutrements of the vaqueiro--bridles, saddles, and leather clothing--can be purchased.

249 471 438 A good deal of the sugar cane which is cultivated in the Recôncavo is grown by the usinas on their own properties. In other cases the cane plantations and processing plant are owned by different members of the same family, and the whole enterprise is operated on a profit-sharing basis. It cannot be said of either of these arrangements, which account for most of the cane harvested in the Recôncavo, that there is a genuine market situation. A truer market relationship exists for the few remaining fornecedores (suppliers) who grow cane and sell it to the usinas. Very commonly, however, these "independent" cane producers are indebted to the sugar company in both the economic and social sense. Moreover, the fornecedore is very much at the mercy of the company because of the lack of alternative markets and the difficulties of transportation. The cane which is purchased by the usinas on a contract basis must have a specified quality and must be delivered to the usina at its convenience by the supplier. It is likely that the mounting debts of many fornecedores will soon force them to sell

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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their properties to the expanding usinas. This same process is taking place in most sugar areas of Brazil.

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The marketing of tobacco centers on one key figure—the agent. With the resources of the tobacco company he extends direct credit to the larger tobacco producers and indirect credit to the small producers via his buyer, who is generally a local shopkeeper. The company grants a specified sum of money to each agent at the beginning of the season, and he disburses this at his own discretion. Bad debts are charged against the company rather than the agent. Most of the tobacco crop is pledged to the buyers in advance, by meahs of a formal contract or an informal agreement which specifies the price, quantity, and quality of the leaf to be delivered. Most of these contracts are entered into in order to secure credit; there are few agriculturalists who could produce tobacco without first receiving credit. There is much opportunity for speculation within the framework of this marketing system. Those buyers who are shopkeepers have in stock the supplies which the cultivator needs. The shopkeeper delivers the goods needed by the cultivator and retains the money which has been advanced by the agent. Since most of the stock of the buyer--storekeeper--has been purchased on credit, he may accumulate a considerable sum in cash or bills of exchange. Speculation is an acknowledged feature of the marketing of tobacco in Bahia, and in many cases the buyer uses the credit advanced by the agent for speculation in the tobacco crop. He does this by extending credit against the tobacco crop of cultivators who are not included in the normal relationships with the agent. Sometimes these debtors are unable to liquidate their debt, and the buyer is caught short. In this event he can use his position as the agent's representative and as a local economic power to recoup, at least partially, by forcing the price upward or through the substitution of cheaper leaf

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 Processing of Agricultural Products. Each of the three principal
252 crops of the Recôncavo require processing before it can be consumed.
276 Sugar cane and manioc are highly perishable, and both are processed in their entirety within the region. Tobacco, once it is fermented, can be stored for longer periods, so that there is no necessity for immediate processing within the Recôncavo. Sugar cane is processed in large usinas and to a lesser extent in engenhos (primitive sugar mills). Tobacco
[277] products are fabricated in small-scale home industries and in factories. Manioc is converted into farinha de mandioca in very small mills.

249 The cultivation, transportation, and processing of sugar cane
489 require an integrated system in which there is some form of centralized
• 471 administration. The larger usinas own and operate most of the surrounding cane plantations and the associated transportation system, and administration is direct. Where cane is purchased from furnishers--privately-owned plantations--the mill specifies the type of cane which it will buy and the schedule of delivery. Most of the sugar cane in the Recôncavo is processed by usinas, which produce sugar, rum, and alcohol. However, there are a number of engenhos and a few smaller usinas which specialize in the production of rum or crude sugar. The engenhos are most important around the margins of the main sugar cane area north of the Bay and in Cachoeira and São Félix, but the usinas dominate the core area of cane production in Santo Amaro, São Francisco, and São Sebastião. Within the core area the big usinas generally are located near but not on the main railroads, although a few are situated near the shore of the Bay.

249 The harvested sugar cane generally is delivered to smaller mills
492 by the grower, usually on ox carts. The larger mills receive their
249 cane via the railroad or the Bay. In these cases the cane is trans-
499 ported by ox cart from the cane fields to a weighing station, from
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1:Haskins K-4,5.(1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 which it is hauled by railroad or boat to the mill, although sometimes
497 the cane which is carried by boat is weighed at the mill. The rail-
505 roads which handle the cane, as has been indicated, are owned and
496 operated by the usinas, except that the government right-of-way is
471 used whenever these tracks pass close to the plantations. One of the
249 usinas is new and a few of the older mills have some new equipment, but the general level of technology is considerably below that of Pernambuco or São Paulo and the mills are somewhat smaller. The usinas grind the cane, extract the juices, and refine the sugar by means of vacuum pans and centrifuges. The more modern usinas produce a high quality sugar, but in general the product is coarse and not a pure white.
274 The by-products of the large usinas and part or all of the cane juice
385 of some of the usinas and engenhos is converted into rum or commercial
262 alcohol. The sugar, rum, and alcohol from the sugar industry of the
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438 Recôncavo are consumed primarily within the Recôncavo and the adjoining
439 regions of Bahia. About one-tenth of the production of sugar is
382 exported, chiefly to Rio de Janeiro. The commercial alcohol usually
385 is mixed with gasoline in the bulk plants in Salvador to provide fuel
654 for automotive transport. By law a specified amount of commercial alcohol must be mixed with gasoline--this is designed to subsidize the sugar industry.

249 There are twenty usinas in the Recôncavo, and these produced
471 an estimated 80 per cent of the total sugar of the state of Bahia in
433 1948. The three largest of these are owned by a single sugar company, which also owns the associated plantations, transportation equipment, and cattle fazendas. This company plays an important role in the
249 marketing of sugar from its own usinas and from other companies. The
471 concentration of the cultivation of sugar cane and of the production
178 of sugar in the hands of this single enterprise is a symptom of the

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 decline of the old system of independent plantations and small usinas and
471 the rise of agricultural capitalism in the Recôncavo as in Brazil's other
178 sugar areas. With greater capital resources, drawn from Salvador, Rio de Janeiro, and São Paulo, the large companies are slowly buying up the fazendas of the core area of sugar cane production and are closing out the small mills.

249 The typical usina involves a large-scale organization of land,
471 transportation, processing, and labor by means of an administrative hier-
489 archy. Timing is one of the critical aspects in converting cane to a finished product, for the harvesting of the cane and the operation of the mill must be closely coordinated. A basic factor in this coordination is the weather, which governs the quality of the cane, the transportation of the harvest, and thus the operation of the mill. In dry weather the
[492] sugar content of the cane is high, and the ox carts move easily through
[493] the fields. In wet weather the harvesting bogs down, and the operation of the mill comes to a standstill. Since the fixed costs of the mill and the plantations are very great, delays in harvest are costly to the in-
249 dustry. Another important administrative problem for the industry is
464 labor. The sugar economy depends upon itinerant seasonal labor and upon the declining local agricultural population. Occasionally the operation of the mill is delayed because of labor shortages. It is sometimes necessary to shift labor from the fields to the mill or vice versa or from one plantation to another and to balance the cost of maintaining a labor reserve, if available, against the losses incurred when the op-
249 eration of the mill is curtailed. The scope of operation of the usina
471 may be illustrated by a list of the major physical equipment of one of the large usinas in Santo Amaro:

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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Land:
9,000 hectares in 19 plantations and ranches; each of the 15 cane plantations has a small settlement, livestock, and a weighing station.

Transportation Equipment:
25 kilometers of railway, 9 locomotives, over 100 railway cars, 4 trucks, 2 jeeps, and for each cane plantation an average of 10 ox carts.

Agricultural Machinery:
9 tracked tractors with accessory plows and grading equipment, 1 wheeled tractor, and on each cane plantation 4 or 5 ox-drawn plows.

Housing:
About 50 houses and miscellaneous service buildings for each cane plantation.

Processing Plant:
Grinding and extracting plant, distillery, power house, 2 warehouses, garage, railroad shop, and medical dispensary.

Miscellaneous:
Office building, houses for company manager and administrator, school for the mill settlement, and church.

249 The operation of such a large enterprise as this requires a large administrative staff. The administrative staff of the particular usina described above includes the following: a general manager for all properties; an administrator over all the plantations; an administrator in charge of the mill; a sub-administrator over each group of four or five plantations; and an overseer and several foremen for each plantation. There are also a number of supervisors in the mill and on the
249 railroad. In addition, the usina pays the salary of the teachers in
466 the local school, engages the priest for the irregular services which are held in the church of the usina establishment, and in conjunction
[178] with several other nearby usinas, employs a doctor. These activities reflect the desire of the sugar company to stabilize labor relations through social services, but on a more impersonal basis than was characteristic of the feudalistic sugar system of the nineteenth century.

258 Manioc can be converted into a staple food which is easy to transport and store by simple processes and small-scale enterprises.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

258 but also because the manioc roots are too heavy and bulky to be transported over long distances. Moreover, the market for farinha de mandioca [438] is generally local, except in the Southwestern Recôncavo.

258 The capital investment in a casa de farinha is small, usually 471 less than one hundred dollars, but this sum is far beyond the reach of [454] most cultivators. The mills are built by owners of medium-sized land holdings or local merchants, and are operated on a share basis. The mill owner usually receives one-tenth of the finished product in exchange [427] for the use of the mill equipment. The customer rents the equipment [464] rather than the service and must therefore provide the labor, although [592] the owner usually furnishes one or two workers. Generally the processing [462] of manioc is a family operation in which the women and girls scrape the roots and the men and boys perform the more arduous tasks.

277 Most of the tobacco which is grown in the Recôncavo is exported [439] in the form of leaf. Therefore, the processing of tobacco is less important in relation to the cultivation of tobacco than is the processing of manioc and sugar in relation to their respective cultivation. The leaf tobacco which is retained in the area is made into cigars in home industries and in a number of cigar factories. The home-produced cigars are made by tobacco cultivators and small-scale processors in the villages, towns, and cities of the region. These cigars are generally [443] very cheap and are sold in the local mercado (market) or in small vendas (shops). It is difficult to assess the total importance of this form of processing, but it seems likely that the number of cigars so made is extremely large.

277 The cigar factories of the Recôncavo are located in the cidades of São Gonçalo, Muritiba, Cruz das Almas, and Maragogipe. Each of the [464] factories employs from 100 to 200 workers, usually women from the surrounding area. Machines are used to produce the cheaper grades;

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

277 the more expensive varieties are hand made. The fillers and inner wrappers of the cigars are made from local tobaccos. Local leaf also [439] is used to a very limited extent for the outer wrappers, but almost all of the high quality cigars are made from wrapper leaf imported • [471] from Havana, Sumatra, or the Connecticut Valley. The ownership of all the cigar factories is concentrated in three companies, all of which [439] have their headquarters in Salvador. The cigars produced in the Recôncavo are sold throughout Brazil.

182 Conclusion. Many of the features of the systems of marketing, 43 transportation, and processing which are characteristic of the Recôncavo 44 are effective in unifying the region. In particular, the centralized 184 marketing and economic control of the production and processing of tobacco and sugar draw both the tobacco and manioc region and the sugar cane region closer to Salvador. At the same time, the differences in marketing techniques and the separate channels of control which are associated with these two products accentuate the sub-regional pattern 182 of the two crop regions. The system of general marketing exemplified 438 by the municipal markets might at first glance seem to be a focus 443 for local rather than regional interests. However, as has been seen, 184 there are itinerant merchants who pass from market to market throughout the Recôncavo. Moreover, the major public markets, such as Feira de Santana and Salvador, draw large numbers of people from most of the rural sections. Even the local marketing institutions contribute to the identification of the people of this area with the region.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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of livestock, which had a value greater than sugar cane but less than manioc.

Agricultural activities within the Recôncavo are localized in several distinct sub-regions, each with a specialized system of cultivation and each with either one or two principal crops. The primary agricultural subdivisions of the region are: (1) the sugar cane monocultural sub-region; and (2) the tobacco-manioc sub-region.

249 Sugar cane is grown as the exclusive crop in its major area of production--the pocket of coastal plain north of the Baía de Todos os Santos. Cane is generally cultivated under a four-year monoculture and one-year fallow system on large properties employing large quantities of hand labor and using oxen to draw plows and carts. Neither fertilizer [407] nor agricultural machinery is used to any appreciable extent. Most of [492] the animals used as labor in the production of sugar cane are brought [231] into the area from the sertão, and little livestock breeding is found [233] in this area. The processing of sugar cane is in the hands of a small [471] number of medium-sized usinas. The companies which own these usinas [178] are gradually buying up the plantations so that to an increasing extent the mills directly control the production of sugar cane. Most of the [497] cane is brought to the usinas by railroad, although sailing boats are [489] used for this purpose along tidewater. Most of the sugar produced in [505] the Recôncavo is consumed within the state of Bahia, but small quantities [438] are shipped to other parts of Brazil. Both the aristocratic upper class [439] and the rising non-aristocratic business interests of the Recôncavo are [565] involved in the ownership and administration of the sugar industry. The [471] permanent labor force is supplied from the settlements of the sugar cane [472] plantations and the mills, but the rural population and the labor force [464] of the sugar area are declining. Seasonal labor for the harvest comes [178] from the interior sertão of Bahia.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

128 241 (2) tobacco production; (3) manioc production; (4) the land rotation system; and (5) alternative agricultural products.

249 471 For three centuries the sugar industry was the basis of the commercial economy of the Recôncavo, and for the last century it has continued to play an important role. As a result of its long and profitable history, it has a number of advantages as a basis for agricultural development. Its capital assets are large--the best land in the region, a number of industrial plants, and a transportation network. Moreover, its [565] land is organized into large units, many of which are under the control of a single company, and all of which are under the control of a small group of the upper class. The industry has a large administrative staff, the most experienced in the region in large-scale enterprises--the organization of agricultural and industrial production, labor, transportation, and finance. It has the very great advantage of good political connections and government support. A part of the industry, [242] composed chiefly of the largest usinas, has had some experience with improved varieties of cane, and on a very limited scale with mechanization.

249 471 433 Against these advantages are a number of limiting factors. Most of the local capital of the sugar industry apparently is committed in the present plant. The sugar economy of the Recôncavo is large scale only in relation to the other agricultural enterprises of the region--the mean daily capacity of the mills can scarcely exceed 500 ton. Moreover, many of the mills are obsolescent--there is only one new usina, and only the larger mills have very much new equipment. Despite [464] the presumed administrative skill of the industry, labor has been one [178] of the continuing problems since the deterioration of the old feudalistic [466] employer-employee relationships of the late nineteenth century. However,

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 471 433 these individual shortcomings of the industry are less important than, and to a certain extent derived from, three basic problems of the sugar economy: land, market, and leadership.

249 [311] Most of the area of Cretaceous soil in the lowlands of the Recôncavo presently is occupied by sugar cane or by the fallow fields. Only those lands which are too wet or which are needed for settlement, mills, or transportation are not used for cultivation. Thus there seems to be little opportunity to increase the area of good sugar cane land. It would presumably be possible to reduce the fallow period by lengthening the period of ratoon harvests or to abandon the fallow period altogether. If, as seems likely, these changes would reduce the yield of cane, then it would be necessary to begin to use expensive imported fertilizers in order not to lose the advantages gained by increasing [242] the intensiveness of cultivation. The introduction of high-yielding Javanese varieties of cane has already been attempted, but because of climatic conditions, soil deficiencies, poor cultivation practices, or a combination of these factors, yields remain below East Indian levels. [134] It is theoretically possible that sugar cane cultivation could be extended to the other soils of the lowland--the Tertiary sandy soils and the crystalline soils of the peninsula and of the Intermediate Hills west of the Bay. Both of these soils, however, are relatively infertile, and the sandy soils are particularly unsuited for cane because of their poor retention of water. Sugar cane cultivation is not practical on the Uplands on account of the low precipitation--cane can be grown in only a few damp valleys of the Uplands.

175 249 439 The second great disadvantage of the sugar cane industry of the Recôncavo is in its market relationship. The history of the sugar cane economy of the region may be summarized as follows. At the end of the sixteenth century the forty engenhos of the Recôncavo exported 1,800 to

/Information on the function of the sugar cane plantation system will be found in category 249./

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Town Life]

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trative work; he comes into office with a mayor and frequently remains through the terms of several other mayors. He therefore knows the duties well and can aid the mayor considerably. In addition, the secretary has a small store in town, capitalized at Cr$10.000,00, where drinks (rum and soft drinks), dried meat (charque), cigars, cigarettes, grass mats, condensed milk, wooden sandals, and a few other small items are sold. [443] [471].

The top municipal office is that of the mayor, which in Brazil is a county-wide office. The mayor is not on the above list as an employee, because he occupies another place in the census from which these data were taken. In Vila Recôncavo the mayor has come traditionally from the top social level, the rural landowning group. The office is elective, with a four-year term, except in the 1930's and 1940's, when the mayor was chosen by the appointed governor of the state (interventor). In Vila Recôncavo, as a general rule, the mayor has little or no interest in the town or, except in a few cases, in the office, which is considered a more-or-less onerous duty. He traditionally does not accept his salary. At the time of the last election there was consternation on the part of the planters, for no one wanted the office but clearly someone had to take it. When the choice was made, the candidate--one of the usina directors--was elected, for he had no opponent. The majority of the duties are left in the hands of the secretary, the mayor doing only a minimum of supervision and contributing little that is constructive. Generally any important matters are discussed at the home of the mayor, and his orders are conveyed to the secretary by messenger or telephone.

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The last mayor, Dr. Aliança, was an exception to the rule. He was interventor in 1947 and was elected mayor in 1948, serving until the general elections in the fall of 1950. He is a civil engineer and the owner of two large plantations, maintaining in perfect condition the old master's house of the former plantation in which he lives, as well as a large house in Salvador. While the roots of his family are in the Recôncavo, he himself came from the north and married into a plantation family of Vila Recôncavo. Although his family tradition has been that of sugar cane, he has not hesitated to break many of the traditional patterns of the area. One of his two plantations has been given over to experiments with other crops, such as bananas, rice, and manioc, on a relatively large scale, and also some production of milk and butter. A few

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years ago, after determining that these crops were not sufficiently rewarding, he made a large-scale planting of white cacao. It is still too early to speak of the outcome of this venture, for the trees have not yet started to give their first fruit, but this instance illustrates his usual energetic spirit.

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Dr. Aliança took the office of mayor seriously and gave a great deal of energy to it. His accomplishments were many in the space of a few years: the paving of most of the town's streets, the installation of electric lights on the streets, the formation of a company to sell electricity to those who wanted it, the installation of telephone communications with the capital, and the construction of a new, modern primary school building. As a result of his personal energy and direction these works were completed, or at least nearly so, when he left the office. (According to law, the mayor cannot be re-elected). However, with the exception of building a bridge, nothing was done in the rural areas of the county. Traditionally any public works in the county are done in the county seat.

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Many of the merchants in Group 1 are small operators. The capitalization of the stores in Vila Recôncavo runs from Cr$100.000,00 to as low as Cr$5.00,00. However, no matter how small the store, it provides a living for someone, or as they say in Vila Recôncavo, "Sempre da!" To the ordinary town citizen it is difficult to get enough capital together to open a store, but once opened it rarely closes for lack of business. Of the twelve stores in town, eight are owned and operated by men, and the other four belong to women. The best store in town and the poorest one both belong to women. The "best" store, Dona Carmen's, is the oldest, located on the main street leading from the boat dock. At present it is owned by Dona Carmen, who inherited it from her brother. It combines a general store and a bakery, and its prices are often slightly higher than those in other stores. It serves most of the people living in the older section of town. In addition to having the largest stock of ordinary foods, the store also carries finer packaged products such as wines, jellies, and preserves.

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Bread is baked in the afternoon and delivered to the doors of the customers' houses, still warm and with the delicious odor always associated with bread fresh from the oven. The bakery's customers for the most part have standing orders, receiving bread or rolls each day in time for supper. What is left over is hawked through the streets by the delivery boy,

2: Hutchinson E-4, 8 (1950-1951) 1957 8011 Bahia Brazilians 8011

VILA RECÔNCAVO

9. Recent Changes in Vila Recôncavo

THE FIELD WORK described in Chapters 1 through 8 of this study was carried out from June, 1950, to June, 1951. In 1955 and 1956 the author had the opportunity to do further work in Vila Recôncavo. This chapter is a summary of some of the changes which have occurred during the five-year period from 1951 to 1956.

First, the sugar industry has undergone several changes, developing still further from the plantation (engenho) toward the highly industrialized factory (usina) as postulated in the introduction. The factory-plantation system, as distinct from the private plantations, has experienced the most change.

Usina São Pedro was described earlier as a family corporation, owned and directed by members of one extended family. At one time in the past five years, this family was obliged to take into the corporation a large amount of capital representing a second family enterprise, considerably larger in scope than that of the first. Within a short period the second family achieved complete control of the factory through a series of financial manipulations. As a result, Usina São Pedro passed from the Conde family's ownership and direction, and is now just one element of a large commercial firm.

For a more complete understanding of Bahian society it is necessary that we examine this second family corporation. The key word is "family," which represents almost a constant in this culture. The second family, the Helvetians, is a second generation immigrant family. The major activities of the family corporation--there are other stockholders, especially employees, with small holdings--have always been commercial: exporting, importing, distributing, and transporting. The cor-

change. New faces and basically different relationships prevail at Usina São Pedro.

Another change, but this time in tune with the past, was an increase of capital, applied to the improvement of the factory. The capacity of the mill has been greatly enlarged. However, the agricultural part of the combination continues as it did before, with no innovations. The result is that the factory is able to mill and produce sugar much more quickly than it can be supplied with sugar cane. The hierarchical aspect of the factory as earlier diagrammed remains the same, and each plantation is still run as a separate unit.

In contrast, the private plantation in the community of Vila Recôncavo has undergone relatively little change in these five years. Always the most conservative element in the Recôncavo, the private plantation continues to retain its distinguishing feature: the personal, face-to-face, paternalistic owner-worker relations. The hierarchical pattern remains the same. Operations are still basically hand- and animal-powered, but private planters are slowly introducing mechanization in certain aspects of the process, especially that of transportation; trucks and tractor-drawn wagons carry cane from the fields to the factory. Tractors and mechanical plows are used to an increasingly large extent in the preparation of the soil, and mechanical cultivators are already in use on some plantations. However, the bulk of the work is still done by hand, and traction is supplied by oxen and mules. As yet no mechanical loaders, ditch-diggers, or planters have appeared, and little use is made of fertilization or herbicides. Few scientific agricultural practices are in use. The planter is still first and foremost a "practical" man.

Relations between the factory and the private plantations have also undergone considerable change, in both business and social aspects. The new managers of the factory have succeeded in almost completely alienating the private planters who supply them with sugar cane. Not only the members of the extended Conde family, but also other cane suppliers resented the highhanded, brusque methods of the new managers. Wishing to break completely with the past, the new managers instituted several new policies in relations with the cane suppliers. Formerly the private suppliers bought sugar by the sack, bought their supplies at the company store, and had their machines repaired at the company workshops, paying for such services at the end of the harvest season. The sup-

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gave sugar growing a great impetus by organizing expeditions of soldiers which he led into the farthest reaches of the Bay of All Saints, killing, driving out or enslaving the hostile Indian inhabitants, so as to make the area safe for settlers to move out of the city into the surrounding area and plant sugar. Mem de Sá himself built one of the largest and most productive of the sugar plantations in the Recôncavo.[2] His lands comprised three and a half leagues along the coastline of the Bay, extending four leagues inland, and two islands.[3] This *sesmaria*—as the early land grants were called—of Mem de Sá was broken down into smaller pieces by his daughter who inherited it, and by the end of the sixteenth century, most of the *sesmarias* of the Recôncavo had similarly, been divided into plantations averaging approximately 600 to 1,000 acres. In the past 250 years, many of these have kept the same boundaries and names, but their ownership has changed hands many times and they have passed through many cycles of prosperity and depression.

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The essential form of a plantation in the Recôncavo has changed little since the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the past, the entire plantation was known as an *engenho*, taking its name from the sugar-mill building which was the heart of the plantation. There were two chief types of sugar mills, one operated by water power and the other driven by traction power supplied by oxen. Before the end of slavery, steam-driven machinery had also come into use. A typical *engenho* had four main items of wealth—its lands, its buildings, the livestock and the slaves. Most of the land was, of course, planted in sugar cane, but there were also wood forests to supply firewood, pastures for the livestock, and small areas devoted to the raising of food stuffs for the personnel of the *engenho*. The buildings of an *engenho* included the sugar mill, the *sobrado*, or home of the owner, and the slave quarters. The owner's house was frequently a very large and pretentious building with one and a half or two storeys. In the Recôncavo the landowners sought to build their houses *a meia encosta*, or against the side of a hill, giving the appearance of a two-storey house in front, but only one in the rear. Such homes were frequently constructed of stone, wood and mortar, with tile roofs. The slave quarters, which were known as *senzalas*, were generally long narrow buildings with sides of mud or *taipa* and and roofs of palm fronds. The livestock of a typical *engenho* consisted of oxen, burros, horses, sheep and cows. The oxen supplied the power to turn the grinding mills when there was no water power, and they pulled the large two-wheeled carts which were used to transport the cane from the fields to the mill. Horses and burros provided transportation for the plantation owner in supervising the work in the fields, and for him and his family for visits to nearby *engenhos* and to town. Cattle and sheep grazing on the portions of the land which were fallow supplied milk and meat to the plantation community.

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The most valuable property of a colonial *engenho*, however, was the slaves. Comparatively few Portuguese came to the Recôncavo, and even those among them who had been labourers in Portugal did not come to Brazil to do manual work. African slaves had already been used on sugar plantations in the Madeira Islands, and a slave system was imported into Brazil along with sugar cane. Although it was expressly prohibited by the Portuguese Government,[4] the early settlers in Bahia enslaved the Indians who did not flee or who were not killed in the early fighting with the colonists. Governor Mem de Sá's Testament lists 95 Indian men slaves, 84 Indian women slaves and only 20 African slaves.[5] From the start, however, Indians were considered inferior to Africans as slaves; they seemed unable to adapt themselves to continuous labour in the fields and mills. Yet in many cases they were kept as fishermen, hunters and boatmen for the *engenho*, being in these activities superior to the newly-arrived Negroes. By 1700, the Negro slaves greatly outnumbered the Europeans in the region, and there were but few Indian slaves. Slave was almost synonymous with Negro.

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An inventory of an *engenho* of about 650 acres, made in 1866 shortly before the end of slavery, gives a total value of 200 contos[1] for the *engenho*. The land, houses, slaves and livestock were valued at 125 contos; the value of the slaves alone was placed at 65 contos. The inventory divides the slaves into two categories: house slaves *(escravos de casa)* and work slaves *(escravos de lavoura)*. There were 18 house slaves and 103 work slaves. Among the house slaves were 1 barber-tailor-painter, 6 servants, 1 cook, 2 seamstresses and 1 apprentice seamstress, 2 sweet-makers, 2 laundresses, and 3 children without specific 'profession', as their occupation was called. Of the work slaves, 59 were listed as field workers (26 men and 33 women of all ages above the age of 12), 18 as small children, and 26 as specialists—including 4 ox-cart drivers, 3 sailors, 2 ironsmiths, 3 bricklayers, 1 field manager, 1 ship captain, 1 gardener, 1 barrel-maker, 1 specialist in the boiling of sugar, and 1 nurse. The prices of the slaves ran from 'without value' or as low as 20 milreis to as high as 1 conto 400 milreis, depending upon the age, physical condition and degree of skill of the slave.[2] The slaves were always listed in such inventories as foreign- or native-born and generally, if it were known, the place or tribe of origin was given. Many are listed simply as *Africano*. For those born in Brazil, the terms used are *Pardo*, *Cabra* or *Crioulo*; the diminutive form of these terms is used for all

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[1] The conto is a unit of Brazilian currency, composed of 1,000 milreis. The milreis, or cruzeiro as it is also called today, is the standard unit of currency. In 1961 the milreis was officially valued at 5.37 cents in U.S. currency, making the conto worth $53.70. However, it must be kept in mind that in 1860 the value of the milreis was considerably higher.

[2] In 1855 this same *engenho* had 60 house slaves and 130 work slaves. The highest valued slave was 900 milreis.

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567 those under 12 years of age.[1] Of the 121 slaves listed in the particular inventory mentioned above, 40 were African. Most of these came from West Africa. Of those whose African origin is indicated, *Nago* (Yoruba) is most often listed, and *Gege* (Ewe) is second.

249 On these sugar plantations of the Recôncavo in the colonial period,
565 the overseer of all operations involved in the growth of sugar cane
463 and production of sugar was the owner himself. Generally, only the oldest son was trained to take over his duties on the plantation; the younger sons were sent to Salvador, to Recife, or even to Europe to be educated as lawyers, physicians, engineers or Catholic priests.
[582] Daughters were married early and given their dowry, or they were sent to convents to become nuns or live as lay sisters. Marriages with first cousins were frequent. Every effort was made to keep the plantation undivided and in the family. The Recôncavo sugar plantation, until about the middle of the nineteenth century, was a remarkably stable community changing little in size and organization from generation to generation.

249 After the abolition of slavery, there was a partial exodus of ex-
567 slaves from the plantations to nearby towns and to the capital of
463 Bahia. The ex-slaves who moved to small towns became manual
464 labourers or fishermen, or engaged in the profession they had learned on the plantations, such as barbering, bricklaying, etc. In other cases, ex-slaves rented small plots of land on neighbouring plantations
[427] to raise manioc, corn, tobacco and other crops which required little outlay of capital. Others became sugar planters on a small scale; known as *rendeiros*, they rented a few acres from a plantation and cultivated sugar cane, sending the product to the nearby *engenhos* for milling. In other cases, the ex-slaves simply moved from one plantation to another, or they often remained as free men on the same plantation, still engaged in raising sugar cane, living under the same
249 conditions as before, but legally free. Contrary to popular opinion,
433 the *engenhos* of the Recôncavo did not all cease operations after
567 abolition. Many of them kept on producing as before. In other cases the *engenho* or mill closed down while the plantation continued to plant sugar cane, sending it to a nearby *engenho* which was still functioning for milling. Some *engenhos*, however, did close down altogether and were abandoned, or went into the hands of receivers.
249 At this time many plantations changed owners—wealthy people in
471 the city were able to buy lands at a low cost and did so. But the
567 failure of many of the *engenhos* in the Recôncavo was not a direct
[425] result of abolition, it was rather the continuation of an economic trend which had been going on for a long time. For many years previous to abolition, the plantations of the Recôncavo had suffered
[826] from lack of capital, poor administration, occasional crop failure, and
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[1] In the inventories, *pardo* indicated light skin; *mulato*, dark skin; and *crioulo*, black. These same terms nowadays are used differently in the Recôncavo. See page 58 ff.

from the competition of other sugar-producing areas. Abolition was the factor which, in many cases, simply ended a struggle several decades old.

The overall production of sugar in the Recôncavo was already dropping noticeably at the time of abolition, and it continued to decrease afterwards. At the end of the last century, state-supported *usinas*, or large mechanical factories for milling sugar cane, were opened in an effort to stimulate sugar production. At the same time, various other *usinas* were opened by private capital. These central mills received and processed the sugar cane of many plantations. The *usina* had the advantage of freeing the planter from the worries of milling and marketing the sugar, allowing him to concentrate on higher production of sugar cane, while the mechanized *usina* was able to produce more sugar out of the cane, thus increasing production. This system of sugar production proved relatively lucrative, and the government *usinas* passed into private hands. The owners of *usinas* bought as many neighbouring plantations as possible, and in this way the *usineiros*, as they were called, became at the same time the mill owners and sugar-cane planters—employers of factory workers and of agricultural workers. The plantations which did not pass into the hands of an *usina* became *fornecedores*, supplying cane to one or another large sugar mill.

The *usina* system, however, in many respects did little to change the traditional plantation system. The plantations belonging to *usineiros* continue as separate units; each generally had an administrator, a man responsible to the *usineiro*, who is in charge of the plantation. As a rule the administrator, who is an employee of the *usina*, lives in the old *sobrado*, the former residence of the *senhor do engenho*, as the old plantation owners were known. The workers on the plantations and their families frequently still live in *senzala*-like houses, usually a long narrow building under one roof divided into separate apartments of two or three rooms. Despite many changes of technology, many examples of the old and the new exist side by side on these Recôncavo plantations. On the same plantation both mechanical tractor and ox traction may be used to pull plows. There are workers' houses side by side, one with electricity and a radio, and another using candles and kerosene lamps. Furthermore, the hierarchy of workers and specialists in sugar-cane raising persists little modified from the early nineteenth century. There are the field hands, the ox-cart drivers, the artisans and other specialists. The plantation is also approximately the same size as it was in the early nineteenth century (although several may be the property of one company nowadays) and it has about the same number of hired workers as it had slaves before.

But the *usina* system and other outside influences have made for many fundamental changes in the Recôncavo. In the very large

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOil Bahia Brazilians SOil

Outside the city of Bahia and skirting the rim of All Saints Bay lies the Reconcavo,[1] some sixty miles long and varying from a few to thirty miles wide. Its soil is a cretaceous marl of great thickness, similar to the black gumbo of southern Arkansas and northern Texas, known locally as *massapé* or, in literal translation, "that which sticks to the feet." It is quite fertile and well watered and today appears only slightly impaired after nearly four centuries of cultivation. This is the cane and tobacco area upon which formerly both Bahia's commercial greatness and her need for reliable agricultural (hence slave) labor was based.

The Reconcavo was formerly a center of large landholdings, of a rural aristocracy, of a patriarchal system, and of slavery. Today, cane and tobacco are still cultivated, although the former, and to some extent the latter, languish by reason of the condition of the world-market and the persistence of primitive techniques of production. Although large landholdings are still common, the rural aristocracy is decadent, its prestige having suffered a gradual but persistent decline throughout the late eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries with the loss of the sugar monopoly, the growth of the coastal towns, and the accompanying increase in prestige of the urban professional classes. The abolition of slavery in the late nineteenth century was the final blow, and absentee ownership is now the predominating pattern. However, the present population is more dense in the Reconcavo than elsewhere in the state outside the city of Bahia and remains to this day markedly negroid in character.

[1] The literal meanings of the Portuguese word *reconcavo* are (1) a bay of semicircular shape and (2) the environs of a city. These two meanings appear to have fused in the Bahian use of the term.